

SECRET

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261. Khrushchev Speech to Third Rumanian Congress

In his 21 June speech to the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers (Communist) Party, Soviet Premier Khrushchev defended at length Moscow's ideological primacy in the face of increasingly explicit criticism from Communist China. Emphasizing the need for adhering to a policy of peaceful coexistence despite "US efforts to resume the cold war", the Soviet leader stated unequivocally: "We do not intend to give in to provocation and to deviate from the general line of our foreign policy as defined by the 20th CPSU Congress and confirmed by the 40th anniversary resolutions of 1957. This is the policy of coexistence, of strengthening peace, the relaxation of international tensions and liquidation of the cold war. "Reaffirming his thesis of the inevitability of war, Khrushchev pointedly told the Chinese that "Communists, who are realists", know that under modern conditions war must be excluded. "Only madmen and maniacs can speak of a new world war." Again turning his sights on Peking, Khrushchev made some very interesting remarks regarding the interpretation of Lenin. His main thesis was that although Lenin's theses on imperialism remain in force, they were developed years ago when the international situation was entirely different. "One cannot mechanically repeat now what Lenin said many decades ago (about imperialist wars being inevitable). We live in a time when neither Marx, Engels, nor Lenin is with us....on the basis of Marxism-Leninism we must think for ourselves, profoundly study life, analyze the present situation and draw conclusions which benefit the common cause of communism." (One must not only be able to read but must also correctly understand what one has read and creatively apply it to the specific conditions of our times.) Following Khrushchev's speech, the satellite leaders of Eastern Europe stood up, one after the other, and were counted as firm and ardent supporters of Khrushchev's program. When the head of the Chinese delegation, Peng Chen, addressed the conference, he reaffirmed the hard Chinese line, while in Peking, an article in the official party paper, Peoples Daily, rejected outright Khrushchev's policies of coexistence and friendly cooperation, and called instead for a "resolute struggle" against imperialism. Khrushchev's final remarks to the Rumanian Congress on 25 June may have reflected his annoyance with Chinese intransigence: "The general line of our policy remains immutable. We continue to stand by the principles set forth in the 1957 Declaration and Peace Manifesto and are not retreating a single step from them".

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Chicom troops from Tibet clashed with a Nepalese border patrol on 28 June, at the small trading center of Mustang in Nepal, about 140 miles northwest of the Nepalese capital, Katmandu. At least one Nepalese soldier was killed and reportedly more than a dozen Nepalese were taken prisoner. It was the first border clash with the Chicoms to be announced by the Government of Nepal, despite the fact that sizeable Chinese forces are said to be just across the border trying to cope with a "Tibetan revolt", which the Chicoms admit is occurring. B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, has apparently been playing down previous reports of border trouble in an evident effort to keep Nepal out of the dispute between China and India on Chinese incursions upon Indian soil, particularly after the Chinese killed 12 Indian border patrolmen in two clashes. (For instance, one report several months ago indicated that Chinese troops had penetrated the Mustang area and had tried to collect taxes from the local peasants). Mustang itself was once a semi-independent feudal holding with only rather loose ties to Nepal. The Chinese are believed to think that they have some claim to the area, perhaps not unlike their similar claims upon India in the Kashmir and Northeast Frontier areas. Reports on 28 June Mustang incident were that Chinese troops had entered the vicinity in large numbers, fired without provocation, and overwhelmed the border policemen. One Nepalese soldier, two village officials, and a number of traders, as well as some of their horses, were seized by the Chicom troops. The Nepalese Government has sent an "urgent and strong protest" to Peking and a Nepalese official has pointed out that the Chinese have not only violated Nepalese territory but also have broken an agreement signed in Peking last March under which the armies of both countries were to be withdrawn 20 kilometers (12 1/2 miles) from the border. Nepal has sent troops northward to bolster the Sino-Nepalese border. In a reply to Koirala, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said that Chinese troops engaged in "suppressing Tibetan rebel bandits" would be withdrawn from the border, suggested that the demilitarization zone, until the area was tranquillized, be reduced from 20 to 10 kilometers, and asked that Nepalese troops intercept and disarm any Tibetan rebels who might cross the Nepalese border.

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263. Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov

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Suslov was born in 1902 and has spent all his life in the Party, which he joined in 1921, mostly as ideologist, propagandist and as liaison man with foreign Communist parties. He started his career in the Saratov Province Komsomol organization, was sent to study at the Moscow Institute of National Economy, graduated in 1928. After further studies in economy, he taught at Moscow University and then was assigned increasingly more important Party functions. During the thirties he took part in the purges in the Ukraine. During World War II he directed partisan troops and then the mass deportations from Lithuania in 1944. After the war, in 1946, he was appointed to the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, closely allied with Andrey Zhdanov, after whose death, in 1948, he became the leader of the Cominform and the Party's foremost theoretician. In his capacity as rigid doctrinaire and the Party's ideological watchdog he has attended many Party Congresses in the Satellites and the free world. Always engaged in the struggle against Trotskyites and other "oppositional elements", he took a leading role in the condemnation of Tito and his followers from 1948 on. From 1949-1951 he was editor of Pravda. In July 1955 he became a member of the Party Presidium and has stayed in it, surviving the elimination of the anti-Party groups in 1957, although he might have been expected to lean more toward Molotov than Khrushchev. Suslov became prominent on the international scene mostly after 1956. In July 1956, he delivered the keynote speech at the French CP Congress. In November he was in Budapest and later vigorously defended Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolution. He was named Soviet delegate to the 8th Italian CP Congress in December 1956 but was refused entry to Italy: the Italian press referred to him as one of the "butchers of Budapest". According to Gomulka, Suslov assumed the major role in the bloc conference held in November 1957 which led to the 12-nation declaration reaffirming the principle of ideological unity of the Bloc, the leading role of the Soviet Union and proclaiming revisionism "the main danger". In 1958 he made a speech defending the ideological correctness of Khrushchev's abolition of the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) in agriculture. There is no solid basis for the belief that Suslov has much support in army circles or that he gets on better with the Chinese Communists than Khrushchev. Suslov has been described as an enigmatic personality who seldom appears in public, rarely talks to foreigners, except for foreign Communist leaders, and generally acts as a sort of "eminence grise". Khrushchev appears to have found in him a valuable political and professional asset.

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264. Key Cuban Officials Renounce Castro Regime

On 5 July 1960, Dr. Jose Miro Cardona resigned his appointment as Cuban ambassador-designate to the US and requested asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Havana. Miro Cardona was the organizer of a massive opposition by civic groups to the government of the dictator, Fulgencio Batista and was the first premier of the Castro revolutionary government, in January and February 1959. He resigned from that post when Castro re-opened Havana's gambling casinos on the pretext that such action was necessary to aid the economy. Miro Cardona's final break with the Castro regime, on 5 July, came because of Castro's increasing reliance on Communist supporters, or, in Miro Cardona's own words, because of the "ideological divergencies between the policies of the Government and my conscience". Miro Cardona's action climaxed a week that had witnessed the renouncing of the Castro regime by a mounting number of high-level Cuban diplomats, including the Cuban ambassadors to London, Rome and the United Nations Headquarters in Geneva. Renunciation of the Castro regime by Cuban officials and leaders in various fields has been a decided trend since March 1960. By early June, twenty-six such individuals had foresworn support of Castro and his policies. This trend is continuing at an accelerated pace. On 16 July it was reported that Colonel Jose M. Rego y Rubido, who surrendered the Cuban army to Castro rather than continue to serve the dictator Batista, denounced Castro's betrayal of the revolution. On 18 July, Miguel Quevedo, editor of Bohemia, Cuba's most influential magazine, which supported Castro strongly during the insurrection period and since, renounced the regime with a ringing declaration "more than 20,000 Cubans did not die so that Cuba should be a vassal of Russia... The turn to communism is the betrayal of the revolution." It is expected that there will continue to be further cases of renunciation of Castro by similarly important original supporters of the revolution that overthrew Batista.

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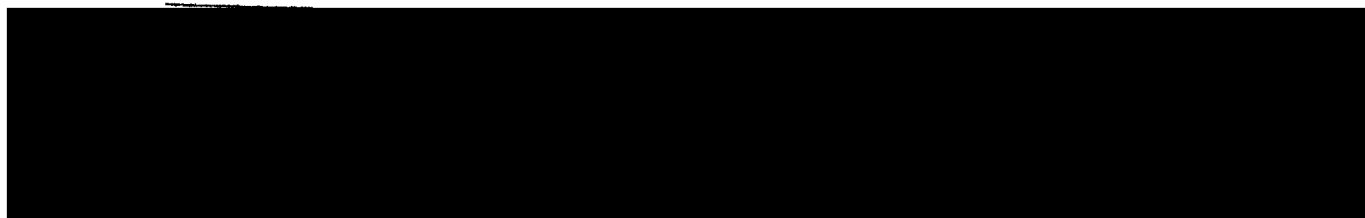
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265. Latin American Youth Congress

The first Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC), scheduled 26 July-4 August in Cuba, will be a Communist dominated, bitterly anti-US rally with heavy representation from the international Communist youth and student fronts and Sino-Soviet bloc youth organizations. Although first proposed at the Vienna Youth Festival, in 1959, and clearly the creature of Communist planners in the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and International Union of Students (IUS), the LAYC has been ballyhooed as a Latin American inspired convocation of popular reform forces. Its targets have been the key student, labor and political party youth organizations - particularly those of the well established non-Communist left, such as, APRA (Peru), AD (Venezuela) and MNR (Bolivia). Its objective has been to pawn off a stridently anti-US, pro-Castro, pro-Communist congress as representative of the progressive, revolutionary forces with great appeal among Latin intellectual, youth, and political groups. Initially a broad coalition of non-Communist Catholic and leftist youth groups worked together to prevent Communist domination of LAYC preparations. But the internal tensions of this coalition exacerbated by increasing Communist penetration of the hemispheric and national preparatory committees and the heightened Communist direction of the Cuban revolution prevented an effective non-Communist force from developing in the LAYC. Instead the Catholic groups of both conservative and liberal Christian Democratic tendencies decided to boycott and attack the meeting. Of even greater significance, however, was the decision of popular revolutionary movements such as AD Regular, APRA and MNR to seek postponement of the LAYC because of its Communist control, and eventually, to announce a boycott on the eve of the Congress. In the meantime, growing dissension against the Castro regime within the University of Havana threatened to raise a serious issue of university autonomy before or during the LAYC. At stake here is the regime's efforts to control university administration and policies via the Raul Castro controlled Federation Estudiantil Universitaria (FEU) whose president, Major Rolando Cubela, drives to campus in an armored car with a two-way radio linking him to Cuban army headquarters. However, recent US economic action against the Cuban regime is expected to add fuel to standard charges of Yankee imperialism characteristic of Latin youth meetings and deflect attention from the Castro perversion of the Cuban revolution and the unruly situation at the University. Castro forces, instigated and encouraged by the Communists, also have a good chance to create a permanent organization out of the LAYC which will rally anti-US forces in Latin America, support Castro's burgeoning national Latin American committees in defense of the revolution, and become a center of Communist activity against the hemispheric youth and student target.

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266. The Final ICJ Report on Genocide, Human Rights and International Law
In Tibet

On 20 June, the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet of the International Commission of Jurists released the final draft of its report on genocide and the violation of human rights in Tibet, and Tibet's status under international law. The published report should be generally available in early August. The committee is composed of nine prominent jurists, including seven Asians, one African and a Norwegian. It is chaired by Purshottam Trikamdas, Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of India, former Chairman of the Indian Socialist Party and former secretary to Mahatma Gandhi. The investigators have been at work for a full year interviewing Tibetan refugees, talking to experts on life and conditions in Tibet, and studying official documents, including those of the Chicom government. The report comes to three conclusions. First, that acts of genocide have been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group. The methods adopted include (a) the prohibition of adherence to and practice of Buddhism, (b) the attempt to systematically eradicate Buddhist belief, (c) the killing of religious figures because their belief and practice was an encouragement and example to others, and (d) the forcible transfer of large numbers of Tibetan children to a Chinese materialist environment to prevent them from having a religious upbringing. Secondly, the committee found that most of the human rights guaranteed by the UN Declaration of Human Rights had been violated, especially the right to life itself. The much vaunted Chinese claims of economic progress were dismissed on the grounds that this development was related directly to the needs of the Chinese themselves, while the living standards of the average Tibetan fell below its previous level. Thirdly, the committee decided that Tibet had legitimately regained its status as an independent state under international law. The group felt that before 1951 Tibet's status as an independent state had been recognized de facto by other states in the international community. In 1951 Tibet surrendered her de facto independence under the 17 point agreement with Communist China. However, the Chicoms violated their guarantees to the Tibetan government to such an extent that the Tibetans were entitled to repudiate the agreement, as the Dalai Lama did on 11 March 1959. For this reason the committee held that the question of Tibet is not within the domestic jurisdiction of Communist China within the meaning of the UN Charter. Included in the report are many verbatim extracts from the testimony of Tibetan refugees, which graphically illustrate and support the various points made by the committee.

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Attachment to No. 266

The Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet of the International Commission of Jurists consisted of the following nine members:

Purshottam Trikamdas
(India)

(Chairman), Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of India; Secretary, Indian Bar Association; Member, Executive Council, Indian Law Institute; former Chairman of the Socialist Party; sometime Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi; former Delegate, United Nations General Assembly.

Arturo A. Alfriz
(Philippines)

Attorney-at-Law; President of the Federation of Bar Associations of the Philippines.

Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill
(Ghana)

Barrister-at-Law and Lecturer in Law; Secretary of the Ghana Bar Association.

Rolf Christophersen
(Norway)

Attorney-at-Law; Secretary-General of the Norwegian Bar Association.

N. C. Chatterjee
(India)

Senior Advocate and Vice-President of the Bar of the Supreme Court of India; former Judge of the High Court of Calcutta.

T. S. Fernando
(Ceylon)

Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon; former Attorney-General of Ceylon.

R. P. Mookerjee
(India)

Dean of the Faculty of Law, Calcutta University; former Chief Justice, High Court of Calcutta.

Ong Huck Lim
(Malaya)

Barrister-at-Law; Member and former President of the Bar Council of Penang; Member of the Bar Council of the Federation of Malaya.

M. R. Seni Pramoj
(Thailand)

Attorney-at-Law and Professor of Law in the University of Thammasart and Chulalongkorn; former Prime Minister of Thailand; former Thai Minister to the United States of America.

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